

fascism, presents a vicious situation to our G.I.'s overseas in southeast Asia and to the parents of those boys.

Prime Minister Ky has been in office since June of last year when 10 generals overthrew the civilian government. They chose Ky as Prime Minister.

The political facts of life are that in all of the time since last June, Ky has not initiated nor accomplished any reforms for the unfortunate and landless living in the area over which he claims to be Prime Minister. The facts are, of course, that the Saigon government which he heads does not now and has not controlled at any time even half of the land area of South Vietnam. Ky never had control of the South Vietnamese military commander of the 1st Corps area, Thi. The northern border of the area occupied by the 1st Corps, or supposedly within its responsibility, is at the 17th parallel which, according to the Geneva accords, is not a boundary line but marks the temporary demarcation zone separating North and South Vietnam until there is a general election.

Diem was returned to South Vietnam from the United States and installed as President under the aegis of the United States and by operations of the CIA. He called off the election that was agreed to at the Geneva conference.

Unfortunately recently at Honolulu, President Johnson in summoning Prime Minister Ky to confer with him, gave him respectability and treated him as leader of all the Vietnamese people of South Vietnam. James Reston of the New York Times wrote that our President said this knowing that this "was not true but hoping he could make it true if he said so but it did not work." Ky apparently had an inflated opinion of his power. He announced a death sentence on the mayor of Da Nang without arrest or trial. Violence broke out to an extent that 50,000 men of our Armed Forces in Da Nang were ordered to remain at the base and for their own safety to stay off the streets of Da Nang.

South Vietnam is not, and historically never was, a nation. Now, an insurrection is raging, not only in Da Nang but in Hué, Saigon and elsewhere. This is a rebellion within a civil war. It may be that our Armed Forces and CIA will manage to keep General Ky in power. It is evident he could not last a week as Prime Minister except for our support and intervention.

When Defense Secretary McNamara says that this war in Vietnam is not a civil war, that there is a direct and flagrant aggression by North Vietnam, his statement is as fantastic as to be humorous. It is well that we Senators, at least most of us, retain our sense of humor. Unfortunately, the Secretary is on untenable ground when he claims aggression from the North. North Vietnam is not a nation foreign to the area termed South Vietnam since the Geneva agreement of 1954. For many hundreds of years there has been a nation—Vietnam. The Geneva agreement provided for a temporary division with reunification following the election agreed upon.

The basis of the American position at the beginning, and the claim will be made that we are in Vietnam at the request of the ruling government of Saigon against external aggression, is that great President John F. Kennedy said that this is a Vietnamese war and they must win or lose it. He also said that claiming South Vietnam as a bastion for the defense of the United States is ridiculous. If a new government comes into power, even temporarily, in Saigon and demands that the Americans withdraw their forces, who are we? Of course, in all honor, there is only one alternative and that is to withdraw all of our forces to the bases on the coast where our 7th Fleet and air power can readily repel any aggression and then withdraw our forces to the United States in an orderly manner and without undue delay.

Up to this get-a-hour the militaries seem to have prevailed with our President. Our Armed Forces in South Vietnam and off the coast of South Vietnam now exceed 300,000. The entire population of South Vietnam is 14 million. Of the 14 million a very large majority are women and children. In addition we now have 40,000 men of our Armed Forces in Thailand. Also, the President has said we shall bring in more "from time to time."

Likewise, more troops from North Vietnam probably will cross into South Vietnam. Escalation on our part leads to escalation on the part of the Communists. Escalation from Washington induces escalation from Hanoi and more recruiting and drafting of soldiers by the VC fighting us in South Vietnam. Then escalation grows on both sides. This is an indefensible self-escalating situation leading nowhere.

Earlier this month for the first time during the entire period of 1 week more American G.I.'s were killed in combat than were those of the ARVN forces or soldiers of our South Vietnamese allies. Apparently, the Nixon military administration of Prime Minister Ky has been so weakened and battered by the revolt in Saigon, Da Nang, and Hué and elsewhere where its leaders have lost crop of their armed forces and our Vietnamese allies have lost their spirit to fight. It would be surprising if the situation were otherwise.

If a civilian group ousts the militaryists of the Ky regime and then demands that Americans get out surely our Commander in Chief would have no alternative other than an orderly withdrawal of our forces to our bases on the coast and protection of our 7th Fleet and air power and then reassignment to the United States or to some of our bases overseas in Europe. We would not lose face by this disengagement. We have lost face by involving ourselves in a miserable civil war in the territory that was Indochina. To Asia as we are returning to the aggressor standing to the south of the Indo-French Colonial Empire that which France withdrew a large number of soldiers in 1954 and gave up all hope of imperialism and despotism over the area now termed Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos.

WHAT IF KY IS OVERTHROWN AND THE NEW GOVERNING BODY IN SAIGON DEMANDS OUR WITHDRAWAL?

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Mr. President, recent political agitation and rioting and violence in South Vietnam, with its overtones of insurrection and anti-Amer-